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Published every Saturday, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York. THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM. AARON M. POWELL, Editor. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Special Editorial Contributor. For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page. REV. JOHN WEISS ON "A CONSCIENCE FOR TRUTH." INDEPENDENT LECTURE.

Mr. Weiss began by speaking of the continuous coming of God into all our truth, our hope, and our love, and said: "Whatever we may think of separate men, it is certain that mankind is full of grace and truth. The great names that stand for the happy organizations along whose lips the divine breath played its sweet and solemn harmonies, stand also for the whole of organized humanity; all lips are ranged conveniently, and the willing breath exhorts their half and quarter notes. What harmony the whole obedience of a generation must procure! Yet, sometimes, when human affairs have accumulated into a moment of intense interest, there is a hush or mood of expectation just before the crisis, during which man becomes conscious of the exalted condition of his nature; they hear the consent of many consciences; they feel that they are harmonizing with God's will. After the wind has been blowing off shore for some time, there is a lull, just before a change of the wind from seaward. In that lull the mastering waves lift up their innumerable voices. Careless strollers on the beach drop their spool of yarn, and the breath of the consenting anthem trembles them with awe. A few years ago the American people overheard the thunder of their own awakening, as the moral law which had been beaten down so long had gathered in too many hearts to be repressed any longer. The divine breath blew along the lips of every State, and a wave went up from each to frame the great accord which at the time we called our patriotism, as we listened to the unexpected sound; but it was the climax of an inspiration, a possession of the conscience by its own law; a rapture of the consent of millions to their own likeness with God's indignation and justice. The moral law had been painfully struggling to touch this land for a generation; many bleeding hands had been lifted from the earth to grapple with points of advantage; yet caught by the undertow and swept backward all the time, till suddenly what seemed drowning became rescue and safety, and we climbed from the sea-bound coast to the meadows where the anemones grew for our heroes. Foreign observers who were strolling curiously up and down along the edge of our whitening purpose, dropped their staves and hailed the uprising of a great people, they termed it; was it not rather the Great Spirit who played upon his pipes, tuned to the reversible harmonies!

All our gifts the conscience is the most sensible to divine inspiration; it has such faith to welcome, such faith to detect, such an instinct to not things right, such sensitiveness to unhealthy influences, such joy in plain dealing, such pain when duplicity is near. What witness is there so perpetual, to the closeness of God; his challenging outpost furnished with the only countersign. But our consciences are not merely God's opportunities for heaping up great critical moments of disease, and concentrating moral virtue against disease and threatened dissolution; the humblest that strives to be honest in its dealings belongs to the history of his time because his conscience belongs to God. The moral sense is not merely a contrivance for detecting and holding on to goodness, but the divine sympathy must repair to it. It is God's moral representative on earth, and it is furnished with the eternal prescriptions. Every time his spirit breathes across these laws of our nature, they are reinvigorated. He responds to our best moments, and there is refreshment, confidence, joy in the response. This idea of the response of God to conscience, Mr. Weiss dwelt upon, and illustrated with great beauty. He then spoke of the infallibility with which conscience records the results of character. Our own souls are the final exhibit which we make to heaven. God sees us, and sees the whole career, and commends at once its most insignificant details and its noblest private motives; and we need not die first as a threatened and accepted. Conscience is an estimate each other so largely by their power to succeed in various undertakings. But this moral system will pass into anarchy unless there is a sense in men that integrity is the founder and preserver of States. It is a great action to keep high and aggressive in a period when the people wink to each other approvingly at the least of an admirable intrigue, and relish the wiles whose point is some successful artifice. Mr. Weiss spoke with touching earnestness and eloquence of the responsibilities and the joys which a sensitive conscience gives to a man-of-the-applauded truth, of being loved and chosen by her. "We are ready," he said, "to understand the young without her companionship. The love there was in the book against the turning away. No threats of punishment that comprises either material or spiritual pains can equal it. What a denunciation of love it brings down upon a soul that, framed to remain where it is, that invited to go up higher, and is God's continual judgment at our in-latitude. In depending upon our cooperation we have not forgotten to make something in his love to us attractive; if not the thing itself." "We are the very dislike to do the thing has its attraction to a human soul. Its sorrowful turning away is an intimation to itself that something truly great has looked at it in passing. We have not a word from youth to age that is not filled with the expressive hints that we belong to a spiritual world, and the soul is besieged as if some largest of these avenues that communicate with the spirit. No man is ever left so poor in opportunities that he does not see the face of some great spirit as it passes by his place of business and indeed, that those who live in the more elevated portions of these States are not adapted, like others of a less altitude, to the culture of the great Southern staple, cotton; but yet they offer to the industrious husbandman no parsimonious soil. They

humanity; it is sincerity and personal surrender in some direction; it says, Take up that sword, lift up that cross, wield that pen, feed that mouth, close that wound, bind up that broken heart, pour that love out of the window, let that uncomfortable message through the door; behold I stand and knock; the sound is harsh; but open and see my handsome face, and bid me in with joy! Why does truth that is all abroad in the world thus come to us? It is because it sees something in us akin to itself. We hear its voice as a straying child hears the mother's voice that goes round groping and searching for the ears so well attuned by nature to thrill at the dear summons of deliverance. When your nearest of kin comes calling, you fling the closed casement open, and lean out with answering smile; and if fortunate vines cluster and blossom round your life, you break off the rose and throw it down—the gage of your affection—then descend to meet it and redeem your pledge. Noble and uplifting moments of the earthly life, when imperishable love solicits you, and some truth or duty within you breaks through all constraints and rushes into God's open day to claim affinity with truth! Then is the moment to return love, and to be loved, and to build the soul's life upon happiness forever. Mr. Weiss dwelt at length upon the answer to the question, How can we be really sure that something divine invites us? and closed his eloquent lecture in the following words: "We may know the truth when it discloses us and sends us elsewhere, when we are detailed for duties, when we are selected for the forlorn hope, when we are ordered to the front! Pride of opinion, love of comfort, desire to keep on good terms with your circle, never is haunted with the enterprise to colonize a virgin soil, and plant a flag there. But truth, in every one of her stages, longs to leave some things behind; the truth of morals inspires us to abandon the old habit of our vices; the truth of religion drags us out of our doctrinal burrows to explore, to take possession. God cannot be exhausted. He has ever new things for new spirits, who become the most religious when they submit to this onward tendency and break away in pursuit of the infinite mystery. It hails us in the van. Have you never heard his voice, paying men that most exquisite of flatteries by asking for their hearts? We cannot conceal our satisfaction, but break into smiles and adoring gestures, and bend toward that invitation as the earth towards its sun?—Advertiser Report.

LANDS. From the New Era. In the year 1856, Congress granted portions of the public lands in alternate sections, to the State of Alabama, in order to aid in the construction of certain railroads within that State. By the terms of the several enactments, the lands thus granted were to revert to the general government, if the proposed roads were not completed within ten years. As the condition of these grants was not complied with, the House of Representatives passed a bill at the session of Congress previous to the last one, declaring them forfeited; a measure which failed to meet with concurrent action upon the part of the Senate. At its last session Congress passed a bill to revive the grant of lands in aid of one of these railroads—that from Selma to Gadsden,—thus withdrawing one of these forfeited enterprises from the forfeiture which had been incurred. The House bill of the former session, which has been referred to, also excepted from this forfeiture another of them, viz.: the Tennessee and Alabama Central Railroad, which is now known as the Nashville and Decatur road. In view of these facts, it is highly probable that efforts will be made to have each and all of the Congressional grants herein cited, revived; and, indeed, Governor Smith of Alabama did, in his letter of January 29th, 1869, to Senator Pomeroy, initiate such efforts in behalf of two other of these railroads, known respectively as the Will's Valley and the Northeastern and the Southwestern Railroads. Besides, about the same time that these subsidies were accorded to Alabama, similar grants of lands for like purposes and upon like terms, were made by Congress to the States of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana. These grants, too, have been forfeited, and the same policy which dictated the passage of the bill last winter would likewise justify other bills for their revival. Thus the disposition of many thousand square miles of the public lands, including some of the most fertile portions of our Southern territory, is at issue in this matter. Under these circumstances, and in consideration of the manifold interests involved in its adjustment, we beg leave to express the hope that each and all of these interests will be carefully considered by Congress before that adjustment is arrived at.

We trust, too, that no hostility upon our part towards railroads will be inferred from what we have thus far expressed. We cheerfully acknowledge their high importance as an instrumentality for the promotion of civilization and of national growth and prosperity. But, while making this acknowledgment, and while freely admitting that upon this account railroads richly deserve the fostering care of the Government, we would take occasion to suggest, that this fostering care should be bestowed in such a manner as to prevent them from overshadowing, in their development, other interests which have claims equally good for a share of the light and warmth to be derived from beneficent legislation. We readily own that in making this suggestion we are somewhat sensitive; but we hold that our duty as journalists, expected to look especially after the interests of a specific class of the American people, requires that we should be thus sensitive. Speaking, then, in the interests of that latest acknowledged element in American citizenship, the freedmen, we urge that the revival of these grants for railroad purposes, simply upon the conditions and provisos contained in the original grants, will tend to the monopoly of lands which should be thrown open for acquisition by the recently emancipated laborers of the soil. It is said that those lands "were in the market for many years at the minimum price of twelve and a half cents per acre and found no purchasers." But, during all those years, the laboring classes of the States thus benefitted were debarred from the ownership not only of their own homes, but even of their own bones and muscles. Now the times are changed, and those toiling thousands proud in the consciousness of being their own proprietors, eagerly covet, as the crowning proof of their restored manhood, the possession of their own little farms. Let it not be said that the lands covered by these railroad grants are valueless for agricultural purposes. True it is, indeed, that those which lie in the more elevated portions of these States are not adapted, like others of a less altitude, to the culture of the great Southern staple, cotton; but yet they offer to the industrious husbandman no parsimonious soil. They

do not frown down upon his unavailing efforts from rugged and inaccessible mountain ranges; and even if they do veil beneath their green and smiling billides rich stores of iron and coal, of marble and granite, they have not been chary in their promises of abundant crops of wheat and corn, and other products of our temperate latitudes—promises which in the coming days will, without doubt, be right royally kept. Those lands are offered now by Columbia as a choice banquet to the longing freedmen; but these forfeited railroad grants swoop down, as did the Harpies upon the table of Eneas, to befool and break up the feast. Portions of those lands have been occupied and improved by freedmen in the hope and expectation that Congress would declare its former grants of them forfeited, and throw them open to actual settlers under the provisions of the homestead law. Surely the hopes and expectations of those poor but loyal toilers are more deserving of consideration than are those of Northern capitalists, who saw fit to relieve the original grantees by purchasing from them franchises, forfeited even then by lapse of time, but previously to that period by red-handed rebellion. If, however, these lands are not to be thrown open to actual settlers under the provisions of the homestead law—if the grants of them for railroad purposes are to be revived—then we respectfully but earnestly urge, in behalf of the millions of citizens for whom we are authorized to speak, that these revivals be made under such limitations and restrictions as shall prevent the establishment of a land monopoly, and of its inevitable sequence, an aristocracy of class; evils under which our Southern States long labored, and of which they are still garnering the bitter fruit. We shall not presume to do more now than to indicate the character and aim of those limitations and restrictions, confident, as we are, that their devising can safely be left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. But, in conclusion, we hesitate not to assert our belief that, under such a revival of the land grants for railroad purposes as we have hinted at, the interests of capital and of labor, now too antagonistic, would be harmonized; that the equalization of landed possessions, so necessary to the preservation of a nation's tranquility, would be thereby greatly promoted; and that at the same time miles upon miles of railroads would be constructed, thus securing increase to the population, and stimulating it to industry in mining, in manufacturing, and in commercial enterprise, as well as in the culture of cotton and of every other crop indicated by soil and climate.

THE SITUATION IN TENNESSEE. LETTER FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 31st, 1870. To the Editor of the Standard: Through the public press of Tennessee we have an acknowledgment at last of the truth concerning the Ku-Klux outrages, which have for two years past desolated that State. The Banner, always a strong, conservative sheet, in common with all other conservative journals in that State, has turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to the most atrocious outrages on inoffensive people, in an editorial, in its issue of January 22d, acknowledged to have "helped cloak these villainies as long as conscience will permit," and comes out, in a style of what Mark Twain would call "vigorous journalism," against them. A frank acknowledgment of wrong and repentance, though tardy, deserves respect and commendation; for even an eleventh-hour repentance is better than none. Now that its eyes are appointed with this new light, the Banner says: "We have been astounded that a general feeling of insecurity, and a sense of public indignation has not arisen to put down this scoundrelism in our State;" declares that the operations of these "cowardly miscreants in disguise" are not confined to backwoods, or mountain fastnesses, but the most brutal and shocking murders occur almost within sound of the church-bells of Nashville; deprecates the state of society when "we can even listen to the recitals of wanton murders without being shocked," and acknowledges that such acts even find a quasi-apologist who will seek to justify it upon some trivial pretext or other;—and pledges itself, henceforth to endeavor to give the fullest and minutest details, time, place, and as nearly as possible the descriptions of the persons, who may be engaged in such acts; "persons in disguise or otherwise, whether white or black, radical or anti-radical, and to use all diligence to bring out the whole truth."

It counts the objections made by some to the bill of Mr. Neil, for the purpose of suppressing these outrages, offered in the Tennessee General Assembly, as being too severe for "blood thirsty miscreants," and "inhuman monsters;" and states that if all the victims who have been murdered in this way, "now so seemingly fashionable," during the past year, had been left hanging to the trees, or riddled with bullets upon the roadside, the State "would stink in the very nostrils of their constituents, so that, in case the Bill should fail, a new representation would be demanded."

Mr. Fowler's declarations in the Senate the other day of the peaceful condition of affairs in Tennessee are thus flatly contradicted, not only by the press of that State, but by private parties arriving from there, and also by letters received from persons representing all shades of political belief.

There are quite a large number of native Tennesseans in the city at present, who have left the State terrified at the outrages that prevailed, and are seeking office or some employment which will support them outside the State. One of these has been appointed Consul to the West Indies. Take a single county, that of Rutherford, where Rosecrans and Gen. Thomas fought the battle of Stone River. At Smyrna a negro was taken out of a church by a band of armed men who tried to hang him, and made a failure of it. The victim broke away, at last, and ran back into the sanctuary, where the disguised assassins followed and shot him. The following letter is from a wealthy and conservative gentleman. The Attorney-General mentioned is a nephew of Col. Stokes, M. C., and a Democrat:—"The criminal court has just closed at this place. While here, the Attorney-General said to us that there had been six murders which had occurred within a month in a secret and clandestine manner, so that the parties were not discovered; and in the midst of the session of the court two forlorn murders took place, one at Smyrna, and the other near; one, a negro man, who had been living with J. R. Dillin for three years, and who gave him a good name; and Marble, (a white man). Poor Marble, he had been a member of Stoke's Cavalry; that is crime enough to take any one to the 'swinging limb.' "Let us hope that there is a prospect, at least, of some recognition of the sacredness of human life." J. H. H.

THE VIRGINIA DEBATE IN THE SENATE.—SUMNER AND TRUMBULL.

GRACE GREENWOOD in a Tribune letter from Washington writes: On Tuesday, on my way to Lincoln Hall, I dropped into the Senate, that pit into which I fling so many golden hours—found Mr. Stewart speaking, lingered, till Mr. Sumner rose to reply, and then stayed. I even heard a portion of the reply of a certain nice-looking young Senator, of the Democratic persuasion—if that may be called a reply which does not meet a speech at any point. This last effort, evidently prepared with considerable study, not to say malice prepense, was directed aimed at the Senator from Massachusetts, who, when he seemed at all conscious of the demonstration, watched it with the utmost coolness and placidity, or with only the slightest possible look of annoyance. We were reminded of the story of a stout backwoodsman, who, seeing a revolver of the day's latest pattern in the hands of a belligerent young gentleman, shook his head warningly, with a "Look here, stranger, if you should shoot me with that little thing, and I should ever find it out, I'd thrash you like blazes." We, up aloft, have been daily amused at the concerted (if anything in that Senate can be said to be concerted) protest and rebellion against what is called the "domination" of Senator Sumner. What's the use? A man never gets such a position as that in any body of men by the mere force of an arrogant will. There must be something far stronger and more enduring behind it. After all, if more imperious, Mr. Sumner is less petulant than some of his opponents and rivals. He sometimes storms, but he does not scold—he strikes good hard blows, but he does not worry or scratch. As read, his speeches are not more overbearing than those of other Senators. The domination is an affair of manner—personality. Is it altogether a fault that he is so terribly in earnest? Is he to blame that he stands like Saul among his brethren? or for the grand, craggy character of his face, which would be forbidding, but for the frequent sunlight of a smile of rare sweetness. If there is coercion in his tones, it is the coercion of thorough conviction. What is his supremacy, or assumption in the Senate, to the heavy autocracy of Webster, or the splendid arrogance of Clay, or the stentorian egotism of Benton, or the worrying, bullying personality of Douglas? If domination there must be, I should think there would be consolation in being dominated not only by brain and will, but by rare culture, unquestionable honesty, and sound morality. \* \* \*

Jan. 22.—Yesterday I reached the Senate just in time to hear Mr. Trumbull's attack upon Mr. Sumner. It was a terrible outpouring of personal and political animosity. I think there were few Republicans in that Chamber, at least of the old Anti-Slavery sort, who were not reminded by it of that other attack on the great Senator of Massachusetts, in the spring of 1856. If there are "looks which are daggers," there are words which are bludgeons. Such words yesterday descended heavy and fast on the head whose blood once stained the old Senate floor—on the head grown gray in the service of our country and of humanity. Surely Mr. Trumbull could not have been conscious of the full bitterness and force of his language—of the fury and ferocity of his manner.

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

It has been with much regret that, from time to time during the past year, we have noticed statements, especially in Western Journals, of Mr. JULIAN's falling health, and his probable inability to accept a re-nomination and reelection to Congress. We have suspected that it was more the purpose of these Western editors to get Mr. JULIAN out of Congress, if possible, than any particular concern otherwise on their part in regard to his health. We are much gratified to be authoritatively assured, that his health, which, from over-work, has been impaired, is greatly improved; and that he will again be a candidate for Congress from the District which he has so long, and so ably and faithfully represented. We find in The Indiana Radical a Card from Mr. JULIAN to his constituents from which we quote the following, hoping and assuming that his re-nomination will be equivalent to his reelection to a post of duty from which at present he could ill be spared: TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

For the past few months I have feared, at times, that failing health would compel me to give up public life for a season, if not finally. This apprehension however has yielded, under strong indications of complete restoration and the encouraging advice of physicians; and I now again offer myself as a candidate for the duties and responsibilities of a representative of the people. I believe I shall be able to make the canvass, and to discharge my public duties should I be elected; and if I did not think so I certainly would accept the rest and solace of private life. My decision of this matter, I dare say, will not be entirely satisfactory to certain politicians and newspapers, in the district and out of it. They will probably still insist that my health has failed hopelessly, and refuse to be comforted; but I hope they will pardon me for exhausting my strength in the service of my constituents, and I exhort them not to give me up. Perhaps they would be prepared to submit, with a good measure of cheerful resignation, to any dispensation that would take me entirely out of the politics of the district; but I do not think it advisable to put their virtue to the test. \* \* \*

Of my conduct as your public servant I need not speak. My record is well-known to my constituents, and they have repeatedly and uniformly approved it. Even my political enemies do not charge me with recreancy or unfaithfulness to my trust; nor do I any longer hear it urged that the principle of rotation in office should thrust me aside for a new man, necessarily less trained in the duties of legislation, and less certainly trustworthy on the sure test of actual trial. So far as I can discover, the sole ground of opposition to my re-nomination is, that I am not available as a candidate. Of course any other candidate would unite all my friends and enemies in perfect and sweet accord, and thus render success certain; but I cannot be elected! This is an old and very familiar acquaintance. It salutes me regularly every two years, and is always certain to re-appear. Those who urge it are undoubtedly believers in the doctrine of final perseverance. It has been insisted upon in every contest during the past ten years, and in every one of them I have nailed it to the counter by my triumph at the polls. I take leave to repeat what I said in a circular to the people two years ago, that I have been constantly growing more "available," while the opposition to me has been steadily losing its power. The political record will show that in the contest of two years ago the Republicans were far better united

in my support than in any previous struggle. In the majority of the counties of the District I ran close along with the State ticket, going ahead of it in one of them. The chief apparent disaffection was at the south poll in Richmond; and in that case I have proved, by the voters at that poll, that the ballot-box was stuffed with spurious tickets, by which it was hoped to defeat me. Let it be remembered also, that in the race this year, by virtue of the Fifteenth Amendment, some five to eight hundred Republican voters will probably be added to our strength, which I am sure would be cast for me quite as unitedly as for any one of my competitors. If I am not available, it is because men calling themselves Republicans, who participate in our nominations and are honorably bound thereby, will afterwards combine with our political foes in the use of fair means and foul; and if the flag of Republicanism in the District is to be lowered and future demoralization will very probably be the result. My appeals to the honest, fair minded voters who have sustained me in former conflicts. Judging by the past, I shall not appeal to them in vain. The contest, I know will be bitter, and outside aid, I have no doubt will be lent to the opposition. The unseen hand of Congressional lobbyists whom I have offended, will be felt in attempts to corrupt the politics of the District and subsidize its press. These and kindred influences will be employed freely, but I do not believe they will prevail. I propose, at any rate, to make the fight; and should I fail, through any such appliances, either in the nomination or election, I should count myself not in any wise dishonored by defeat.

Perhaps I ought to add, in conclusion, that the real problems of our National politics are not yet fully solved. The great work of re-construction is not consummated, and will not be, until education and homesteads, the handmaids of the ballot, shall be secured to the freedmen and white loyalists of the South. The Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution, defining who are citizens of the United States, and making it the right and duty of the central government to give them national protection in return for national allegiance, opens up to Congress a new and grand field of jurisdiction, and points the way to the true remedy for rebel outrages in the name of State Rights. The question of our National Land policy must also be further and more thoroughly dealt with, while the somewhat related question of our Indian policy is scarcely less important. The questions of finance, of trade, of labor, of monopoly and plunder on the one side, and the just rights of the people on the other, are all to be met; and I think it fair to assume that the Radicalism which carried the country safely through the late civil war, can best be trusted with the settlement of these issues. Not conservatism, but Progress, must still be the watchword. Very respectfully, GEO. W. JULIAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C. January 22d, 1870.

HOW THE NEGROES LEGISLATE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

FIFTEEN BLACKS IN THE STATE SENATE—PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS—THE PERSONNEL OF THE HOUSE—THE ABLEST DISPUTANT AND PARLIAMENTARY LEADER.

From the Franklin Repository. Here the Slave is now the Master; the Bondman is the Law giver. Here has been fulfilled that singular prophecy ventured by Jefferson soon after his retirement from the Presidency. Speaking of the crime of slavery, he said, "that considering numbers, native and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events, and it may become probable by supernatural interference!" The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. I walked leisurely along the broad streets of Columbia, to the imposing, but still unfinished Capitol of South Carolina. The softest breezes of Northern spring-time greeted me, and the beautiful myrtola mock-orange, firs, and other evergreens, seemed to proclaim perpetual summer. The streets are crowded with motley groups of whites and blacks, and on the modest elevation that fixes the centre of the main avenue stands the point of attraction—the Capitol with the Legislature in session. I entered the vast rotunda, and passed on to the legislative halls, to witness the deliberations of the novel Legislature of reconstructed South Carolina.

THE SENATE HALL, designed to echo the eloquence of the Hamptons, the Rhett, the Hammonds, and other distinguished sons of chivalry, has been fitted up in modest elegance, and eighteen whites and fifteen negroes fill its chairs. As a body, it is but little below some Northern Senates I have seen, in point of intelligence, and among its members are able men of both races. Mr. Corbin, the President, is a very able lawyer and debater, and perhaps the commanding intellect of all the contributions from the North to the statesmanship of South Carolina. He is well appreciated, too, as he is Senator U. S. District Attorney, and codifier of the laws, and fills all with credit. Senator Jilison, another son of New England, is a gentleman of culture, and is State Commissioner of Education, as well as legislator. Senator Leslie is an ex-New York Democrat and ex-Democratic legislator from Brooklyn. He is now a Republican Senator, and State Land Commissioner. These doubly or trebly honored gentlemen are not singular, however. There was a lack of white material when the wheels of government were put in motion, and it became an agreeable necessity for an number to accept multiplied offices. Mr. Moses, Speaker of the House, is Adjutant General; and Mr. Nagle, Comptroller General; Mr. Tomlinson, Auditor General; Mr. Elliott, Assistant Adjutant General, and Mr. Stobrand, Superintendent of the Penitentiary, are all commissioned State officers, and members of the House.

THE MOST NOTABLE NEGRO, in the Legislature is Senator Wright. He is a full-blooded negro, of medium size, with a finely chiseled face, and a handsomely developed head. He came here with the certificate and seal of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania as an attorney-at-law. His features and form are fairly Caucasian in all save color, and he speaks fluently and forcibly. He is eminent for his integrity, and devotes himself intelligently and earnestly to the advancement of his race and State. On the right of the Chamber sits a tall, gaunt, full-blooded negro, black as midnight, with the regular Southern negro dialect, and the awkward gait of a field-hand. He is Senator Nash, the representative of the Capiti District, and successor to Wade Hampton. He is quite intelligent, although entirely uneducated, and was, in olden times, the best hotel porter in Columbia. Senator Cain sits near the centre aisle, and boasts of no discount on his African blood.

He is a tolerable debater, and an ardent preacher of the Methodist persuasion. A little in front of him sits Senator Swails, a light quadron, and a hasty graduate of the country free-schools of the Cumberland Valley. He is doubtless remembered by many of the citizens of Chambersburg. He writes a beautiful hand, and speaks quite intelligently.

THE HOUR OF NOON is indicated by the plain mahogany circular clock above the door, and the Senate is called to order. A very plain, jet black, white chokered man stepped up on the Speaker's stand, and called the Senators to their devotions. A more simple, beautiful, and appropriate prayer I have never heard than Chaplain Adams offered for his dubious flock, and stricken Commonwealth. Routine legislation followed, and I turned to take a look at the popular branch of the Legislature. It sits in the spacious Library room of the new Capitol, temporarily appropriated to the purpose, and a large gallery is usually crowded with negroes, watching with intense interest the maiden efforts of their representative brethren as law makers. Speaker Moses is in the chair, and he presides with great dignity and ability. He is an Israelite, and an enthusiast. From an extreme rebel he has transformed himself into an extreme Republican. As a staff officer of Gov. Pickens, he was accorded the honor of hoisting the Confederate flag over Fort Sumter when Anderson surrendered, and now he presides over the first Republican Legislature. His father was a rebel commissioner to persuade North Carolina to join in secession, and now he administers the Republican laws in hearty sympathy as Chief Justice of the State.

THE SPEAKER vacated the chair, and a stout, finely formed negro took his place and presided very gracefully. He is Mr. Whinner of Charleston, a Michigan waif, that came with the war and lodged when the army was disbanded. His face is round, full, and well drawn. If covered with a white skin and flaxen hair, his features would be called more than ordinarily good. He is the Patrick Henry of the House as an orator; but his want of culture mars the beauty of his sentences. He is a lawyer, and aspires to the vacant seat on the Supreme Bench, as does Senator Wright. Mr. Elliott, a Massachusetts negro of full blood, is perhaps

THE ABLEST DISPUTANT AND PARLIAMENTARY LEADER on the colored side of the House. I saw him lead in a desperate struggle of two days, in support of a bill that was fought desperately by filibustering, and he managed it with great skill until he covered his efforts with success. Capt. Small, the hero of the "Planter" during the war, is also a member. He is a stout, burly mulatto, and his face indicates considerable intelligence and great decision of purpose. Purvis is a neat, slender mulatto, and hails from Philadelphia, where his father is well-known as one of the most successful financial princes of his race. The son is the negro Beau Brummel of the House—dresses very tastefully, and parts his soft waving hair in the middle. He is an active and influential member and speaks well. De Large is a dumpy, little quadron, a fluent but not very forcible talker, and has a passion for the floor. He was a steward in the rebel navy during the war. Cook, of Greenville, is a very genteel mulatto, and a quiet but efficient member. He is a son of his former master, and long struggled to free himself from bondage. He saved fifteen hundred dollars, by sixpences and shillings earned after labor hours, and offered it in vain for his liberty. Finally rebellion brought emancipation, and his savings gave him a comfortable home.

The House is nearly two-thirds negroes, WHO WERE ONCE SLAVES; and every possible shade is to be found. There are half-a-dozen members who would readily pass for pure whites, but they were South Carolina slaves only a few years ago. Mr. Tomlinson, a Philadelphia Quaker, and an offshoot of the Bureau, is the ablest white man on the floor, and one of the most vigilant and faithful members in either branch. Close to him sit Gen. Dennis and Mr. Jenks, two of the able political leaders of the House. In the front row is the patriarch of the Legislature—an old native white preacher, his head bleached by the frosts of more than seventy winters. On each side of the Speaker sits a bright mulatto clerk and close by is Mr. Etter, the reporter. In the gallery sits the first negro in South Carolina, with his sprightly quadron wife by his side. Mr. Cardozo, the Secretary of State, is a robust, full-faced mulatto, and everything about him indicates the highest culture. His father and master was an officer of customs in Scotland. He was regularly ordained as a minister, and was pastor of a New England congregation for some years before the war. Gen. Howard has urged him to accept a professorship in the Lincoln University, but he wisely prefers to serve his long oppressed race in South Carolina. He is highly respected by all classes, and exerts a most salutary influence in all matters pertaining to the interests of the blacks. If he desired to fill the Executive chair of his State, or a seat in Congress, either would be conceded to him without a serious struggle; but for the present he is content to continue as Secretary of State. It is not improbable, however, that on the 4th of March, 1871, Mr. Cardozo, once the slave of South Carolina, may appear at the bar of the United States Senate to qualify as the representative of the chivalry in the first legislative tribunal of the nation.

A. K. McCLURE.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 12th, 1870.

STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED PEOPLE IN TENNESSEE.

TO THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE. AFTER having fully considered our present condition in this State—in meetings called for that purpose, in Middle, East and West Tennessee, for the purpose of devising means to bring about a better understanding among our people, we find it necessary to call them together in Convention, to meet in the city of Nashville, on the 21st day of February, 1870, to take into consideration such measures as are calculated to improve our condition. The counties are requested to send in a full delegation, to be regulated to suit themselves, in accordance with their circumstances. The delegates are requested to bring in all the information that can be obtained, on Schools, on Farming, on Wages per month and per year, on Contracts and their fulfillment, on treatment of hands, on Crimes and Arrests and Convictions. In fact, a report, as far as can be obtained, on our condition in every department of life. Hoping that all who feel an interest in the advancement of this people will give this call their hearty support: [Signed] Middle Tennessee.—Wm. Butler, Geo. Carter,



Anderson Cheatham, Randal Brown, R. D. Campbell, A. W. McConnell, Edward Woods, T. J. Bell, Adam Young, J. M. S. Elton.

East Tennessee.—E. D. Livingston, Jno. Dugan, J. B. Young, A. B. Parker, W. B. Scott, Jas. Goings, Wesley Stewart, A. E. Anderson, Wiley Mabery, Chas. Walker.

West Tennessee.—W. T. Kennedy, Warner Madison, Edward Lee, G. Hayden, Edward Shaw, M. Wilson, J. H. Sailor, H. Trobridge, Giles Roberts, H. H. Harris.

LETTER TO HON. CHARLES SUMNER FROM MISS PUTNAM.

LOTTSBURG, NORTHUMBERLAND, Co., Va., January, 24th, 1870.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER—Dear Sir:—I see by the debates in the Senate that the application of the oath of the Fourteenth Amendment is supposed by members to disqualify the Rebels eluded to the Virginia Legislature. I beg to call your attention to the fact that it does not.

These delegates were selected with wonderful subtlety, and I am informed by the chosen loyal delegate, from Lancaster, (our adjoining County), that only a very few, scarcely any delegate to either House, would be unseated, by the oath of the Fourteenth Amendment. The oath of July, 1862, (iron-clad) would probably reach many cases.

The delegate from this County (Haynie) was a magistrate during the war of the Confederacy—but if he had not been before the war, and taken the oath to support United States Constitution he would still be eligible under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The rebels knew all this, and chose such men as they could find to suit, and you will see they are not greatly disquieted by the prospect of the oath of Fourteenth Amendment being exacted.

B. G. Haynie, the man chosen from this county to the Legislature, was a magistrate of the Confederacy, but if he had not been previously one under the United States Constitution he could still take this oath! I suppose the "Iron-Clad" oath of July, 1862, might exclude him.

The prayer of all the struggling palpitating loyalty, I know, in Virginia, white and black, is, to Congress to "keep the State out!" Though it is so fearful of the great power of the Administration thrown against it that it dare not cry out as I do. A poor magistrate in this county of military appointment, holds his office in fear of his life. He told me he did not dare sign a petition to Congress to keep the State out though nothing would rejoice him more, and he knew it was our only safety.

With most grateful and sincere thanks,  
CAROLINE F. PUTNAM.

STANTON.

The following characteristic notice of the death of Mr. STANTON we take from the Memphis (Tenn.) *Avalanche*. It illustrates the spirit of the yet unregenerate, unconstructed, Rebel Democracy of the South, and will forcibly remind our readers of the old-time articles of Southern journalists formerly presented in *THE STANDARD*'s "Pro-Slavery" department, and in *The Liberator*'s "Refuge of Oppression."

STANTON.

From the Memphis *Avalanche*.  
A bad man has gone to his long account. A villain has shuffled off this mortal coil. A despot has kicked the bucket. There was great rejoicing in Pandemonium yesterday. Since that eventful day when Adam and Eve manufactured clothes out of fig leaves, there have been many large gatherings in hell and on earth. But the cavalcade that turned out in the infernal regions to greet E. M. Stanton, who died yesterday, was in all probability, the largest that ever paid tribute to a congenial spirit. Stevens had been awarded the premium for being the biggest sinner in all purgatory, and he is no doubt now enjoying a good prospect of winning it. That markish sentimentality which would throw the mantle of oblivion over the misdeeds of dead rascals, cannot be observed in chronicling the death of E. M. Stanton. The most exquisite torments served Stanton enjoyment. The tyranny of Tiberius was forgotten in his enormities. He revelled for several years in torturing all over whom he had power; but when he offended heaven by hanging an innocent woman like a dog, God visited him with His righteous anger, and since the consummation of this atrocious deed Stanton's physical system commenced decaying and breaking up; and without a single day on earth, destitute of all belief in the Christian religion, he died, and a little soul steeped in sin went to the devil. In nature he was revengeful and malignant, and so stubborn in opinion that he rarely changed his views or relinquished a purpose. He was as remorseless and cruel in disposition as a Canache Indian; and joyously and without a shudder would have turned his Southern people over to massacre, and their homes to desolation. He was a man of no philosophy, but from temperament and torpor he belonged eminently to the animals known as cold bloods. No impulses ever stirred the feeble and sluggish currents of his moral and mental nature. To call him a brute would be a libel upon the dog. Of humanity he was destitute. He was servile; he was cowardly. The manner of his death showed the finger of retribution. He hungered for blood, for a position that would enable him to bedevil defenseless people. A President as mean and malignant as himself, appointed him United States Supreme Court Judge. This power caused the fiend to burst into wild and demonic laughs. But that God who would not permit the builders to occupy the impious tower on the plains of Shinar, smote the unctious scoundrel to that he died. Nearly all the conspirators against the life of Mr. Surratt have been blotted from the world they disgraced. Conover was consigned to the Penitentiary, and Andrew Johnson was sent into private life. Holt still lives, but he prays for death. Stanton had gone, and Golt was soon follow, for not more certainly is he punished who sins his land in the flames, than he is punished who sins his land in moral wrong. "The wicked man's sins will find him out." It is not an agreeable duty to inscribe this true character of an infamous public man on his tomb; but it is an imperative duty. Speak nothing but the truth of the dead. Stanton, the infamous, is drinking molten iron, trading in pyrotechnics, and broiling in a heated furnace, and the people rejoice.

ELECTION OF A NEGRO TO THE SUPREME BENCH OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

COLUMBIA, Feb. 3.—The election of Jonathan J. Wright, a colored man, to the position of Associate Justice upon the bench of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, which occurred on Tuesday, is an event of no ordinary importance. The position is that formerly held by S. L. Hoge, whose election to Congress left it vacant. This Court consists of three Judges—Chief Justice Moses, (father of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Associate Justice Willard from New York; and Associate Justice Wright (colored) from Pennsylvania.

Judge Jonathan J. Wright is said to have been born in Pennsylvania, and is about forty years of age. He was graduated at the Lancasterian University of New York, and studied law for nearly two years at Montrose, Susquehanna County, Penn., and a year at Wilkesbarre, in the same State; he was, just before the war, admitted to the practice of law at Montrose, being the first man of color admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania. In 1865 he came to South Carolina as an attaché to the Freedmen's Bureau under Gen. Howard, and was employed as an adviser in law to the freedmen about Beaufort. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and under the new Constitution was elected to the General Assembly as a Senator from Beaufort County, in which capacity he has served up to the present time. He has always been known as a man of temperate views and pleasant countenance, and is very often heard upon the Senate floor. He enjoys the reputation of being the best educated negro in the South, standing in this respect infinitely ahead of his opponent—William J. Whinner of Michigan, also colored—who is sadly deficient. Judge Wright is apparently what is known as a black androgyne, who is three-fourths negro, and his features being of a more Caucasian cast than his skin, which is quite dark.

The scene at the election on Tuesday was remarkable for its intense feeling and personal partisanship. By common consent the General Assembly, white and black, had settled down into the conclusion to elect a negro; and that question being settled, the only one remaining was whom to elect. The Republicans were nearly equally divided between Wright and Whinner; so that the turning of the scale was in the hands of the small Democratic minority of twenty votes. Elaborate speeches were made upon the merits of the two rivals. When the voting was over the confusion became far worse; so that, in fact, the President of the Joint Assembly, unable to put a motion or control the attention of the House upon any subject, dissolved the convention of the two Houses with his gavel; and the Senate retired to their chamber without formality. Yesterday Judge Wright resigned his seat in the Senate and qualified as Judge; and to-day he is sitting on the Supreme Bench, at the left of Chief Justice Moses.

Judge Wright is the first one of his race who has ever held a like position among white men.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1870.

RECONSTRUCTION—THE NEXT PHASE.

GEORGIA, as a "provisional" State, has ratified the Fifteenth Amendment. Twenty-eight States have now ratified, and though not yet officially promulgated, the Amendment is assured. The official proclamation will doubtless be delayed until Georgia and Mississippi, both as yet "provisional" States, shall have been admitted to Congressional representation; and very likely also until after the meeting of the Nebraska Legislature and the ratification of the Amendment by that body. The Nebraska Legislature, we believe, is to assemble on the fifteenth instant; of its favorable action there is no doubt. Its affirmative vote will be one more than is necessary, but the Secretary of State will probably prefer to wait for it, because it will remove any possible ground for political quibbling on the part of the Sham-Democracy, on account of the recent action of the New York Legislature, in rescinding the previous ratification. Texas will furnish still another vote to fortify, in place of Indiana, should there be any question as to the legality of the ratification in that State. Half a million colored voters, now disfranchised because of color, await only this final adjustment, the admission of the two "provisional" States, the action of Nebraska, to render assurance doubly sure, and then the Secretary's promulgation of the Amendment, to become equal citizens before the law.

We disapprove of the speedy admission of Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas, for the same reasons as in the case of Virginia, and each of the rebellious States. Mr. Sumner's proposition for a prolonged territorial rule for each, keeping them for an indefinite period under the direct control of the National government, would have been far wiser, and more immediately auspicious in its results for all classes. But the necessities of the situation will lead, at last, by a more oppressive, tedious method, to a kindred result. The rebels of the South, their political party allies of the North, and the weak-kneed, dough-face Republicans, of whom there are a few left, seem to suppose that when once these rebellious States have been readmitted to Congressional representation the reconstruction period will have ended. They delusively anticipate a revival of the old-time sway of Southern State sovereignty. They cannot too soon have their minds deluged. Reconstruction will not have ended with the readmission of the rebellious States. It will be seen that the relation of the States to the Union is to be, so far, especially, as citizenship is concerned, quite otherwise than in past years. There will be the same uniformity throughout the Union, as in currency, and the same right of national scrutiny and protection, in any and every State, for the ballot as for the bank-note. The necessities of government, if our nationality is to be preserved, render this inevitable. Without this national supervision and protection the ballot in the hands of the loyal voters of the South, colored and white, will avail them little or nothing. Nor, in its absence, will the majority rule be respected in the North. Practically there is now no such thing as republican or truly democratic government in the State of New York. The ward politicians and the drap shops of this city not only rule the city, but they control the entire State as well. The facility with which voters are manufactured to order here, and no adequate power outside of the State to cope with the corruption, renders the periodical election no better than a farce. Presently those who with impunity thus tamper with the ballot here, if unchecked, will, on another line, seek to control the national government, as well. It is said that the small number of twenty-seven thousand votes, rightly distributed in certain States, at the last election would have defeated Grant and elected Seymour. To have provided that number of votes here in this city would have been a very small day's work. The increased, direct, national supervisory power authorized by the Constitutional Amendments, does not therefore come a day too soon. Upon its prompt and efficient exercise depends the preservation of nationality itself. With Georgia, Mississippi and Texas readmitted, and the Fifteenth Amendment officially proclaimed, Reconstruction does not therefore end. Upon Congress will still rest the responsibility of vindicating in those States, and henceforth in all the States, the rights of citizenship for all loyal citizens. Otherwise the Amendments will themselves be of non-effect, and the victory, both of the battlefield and of legislation, will be barren of good results.

The elections, involving not alone the welfare of a single State, but of the nation, must not be allowed to pass without scrutiny. Tennessee is a case in point. The last election in that State, on the showing of well-known, loyal citizens, was a wholesale rebel fraud. Congress will be derelict in duty to allow it to pass unchallenged. One result of that election in which the interests of all are involved, as well as those of the people of Tennessee, is the election of a United States Senator. We demand that that Senator be not allowed to take a seat in the Senate of the United States until the Tennessee election has been made the subject of thorough Congressional investigation. If the statements of Mr. Stokes, Mr. Maynard

Mr. Blackburn and others as to wholesale fraud, violence and intimidation are verified, if there is no other way of meeting the difficulty, the present local government must be set aside altogether, and the State remanded to provisional, national control. Without the prompt exercise of this new constitutional power on the part of Congress, at the next Presidential election the enemies of the national government will achieve by intimidation and fraud at the polls the victory they were not strong enough to win on the battle field.

Reconstruction must therefore go on indefinitely. We commend the case of Tennessee to the immediate attention of Senators and Representatives; and we urge the early perfection of the requisite machinery to exercise henceforth, in all elections involving the choice of members of Congress, and of president and vice-president, national supervision and scrutiny against fraud, and protection for the citizen in the exercise of his political rights, irrespective of color. In this we have in mind not only the loyal citizens of the South, who may justly claim such protection of the national government; but also a legitimate and necessary means of restraint in such cities as New York, where notoriously, the ballot-box is no longer allowed any legitimate voice as the medium of citizen suffrage. The exercise of military force to any considerable increased extent will not be necessary to perfect this reconstruction in its ultimate and far-reaching details. It is for Congress to determine the means by which its authority shall be rendered effective. There are peaceful methods not a few. We have already spoken of the value and importance of helping the landless and dependent colored voters of the Southern States to help themselves to land and homesteads. We shall recur to this subject again. Nor can we here more than allude to the important auxiliary of Education.

With the abolition of chattelism, the guarantee in the fundamental law of the nation of impartial suffrage, so far as color is concerned, the door opens wider than ever before for rapid future national progress. Have we the statesmanship equal to our new opportunities and corresponding responsibilities?

THE NEW YORK HERALD—FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The New York *Herald* is quick to indicate the controlling tendency in public opinion. Without any regard to its own consistency, it opposes and subsequently advocates measures according to its discernment of the popular tendency of opinion. It is often shrewd enough to see and announce these tendencies in advance of its daily contemporaries. It opposed the abolition of slavery, and afterward approved emancipation. It opposed the enfranchisement of colored citizens, and then gave its support to the Fifteenth Amendment. It now sees and proclaims the broader scope of the Fifteenth Amendment in its application even to such political treachery as renders the ballot-box worthless in this city. On Wednesday last, in an article on the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the *Herald* significantly says:

"The most important information received of the doings or designs of Congress yesterday is the report that Gen. Butler of the House Reconstruction Committee, has been authorized to bring in a bill to carry into effect the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the General Disability or General Amnesty bill. The provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to be carried into effect are the equal civil rights of the negroes, and of the Fifteenth the provision to be enforced is that of equal rights, regardless of race or color, in the matter of suffrage. Upon this matter this proposed bill, we expect, will be one of great importance to all the States, but especially to Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky, late border slave States, which, escaping the league of the late Southern confederacy, have escaped the pains and penalties of Congressional reconstruction. Hence they are somewhat behindhand in reference to the equal civil rights of the blacks (particularly Kentucky), and have made no concession to Sambo in the right of suffrage. How far Congress is disposed to proceed in enforcing this right we shall probably know with the introduction of Gen. Butler's bill. Congress shall have the power, says the Fifteenth Amendment, to enforce these provisions 'by appropriate legislation,' and this appropriate legislation may interfere very materially with the election machinery of many of the States. Such was the apprehension of the Schemers of Tammany and their special objection to this Fifteenth Amendment. Certainly, in the power to enforce equal negro suffrage Congress has a broad range of authority over the State elections; but we cannot believe that General Butler's bill will displace the election machinery, for instance, of Tammany Hall, though it may interpose some embarrassing checks and balances. Surely it will now be seen that on this Fifteenth Amendment the sovereignty of Congress is fixed, and that the States must obey."

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN TENNESSEE.

The late fraudulent, rebellious and revolutionary election in Tennessee has called up a ghost which will not down at the bidding of the representatives of the present illegal, sham government in that State. Moved not unlikely by apprehension of early National interference, Governor Senter has submitted a message to the General Assembly of Tennessee, asking for special legislation to suppress the crimes of violence which have become so fearfully prevalent. We have no faith in the efficacy of any measures which may be enacted by that body, itself a part of the rebel mob, and chosen by the help of the violence and intimidation begotten of that mob. A new election, with protection to loyal citizens, alone can create a local government at all competent to meet the wants of the State. In the absence of this we do not expect to see matters mended much, until Tennessee is remanded to the provisional condition of Georgia and Mississippi and placed directly under national control. We invite attention to the following extract from the Governor's message, from which it will be seen that what we have from time to time published in *THE STANDARD* concerning rebel lawlessness and violence in Tennessee, has been only too painfully true. He says:

"It is with profound regret I realize the necessity of directing your attention to the alarmingly frequent violence to the peace and dignity of the State, in the maltreatment and even atrocious murders of her citizens by persons generally reported in disguise or unknown. Many of the State's citizens have been outraged in their privileges and persons by cruel indignities; not a few slain outright, without charge of having in anywise offended the laws; while others under criminal charges have been forcibly wrested from the custody of law, and their blood deliberately shed by bodies of men without the least shadow of authority. Of these enormities can be in our midst without the perpetrators in a single instance being even arrested to answer for their lawless and criminal acts, demonstrates the existence of organization on their part, not only dangerous to the individual citizen and adverse to the public dignity, but formidable even to the public peace and safety. As not a single arrest has yet been made for the grossest violation of already existing laws, although such violations have been frequent, and the largest rewards allowed have been often if not invariably offered to bring to justice, it may be fairly concluded that such

offenders are protected by organizations adequate, by terrorism, the force of numbers, or other means, to effect security against the ordinary civil process and officers of the law. The public misfortune seems not so much a want of law as lack of power to enforce that we have. I recommend that our statutes be so amended that the Executive shall have power, at his discretion, to appoint, for counties where such violations of law are committed, and no arrest of the offenders made, special officers, with all of the powers of sheriffs to summon posses, make arrests, and do all like things necessary to bring offenders to justice; such officers to be commissioned as peace officers of the State, and clothed with all the protection, in exercise of their lawful powers and duties, which can be afforded officers of the law; and also, that the Executive be authorized by law to appoint and commission special prosecuting attorneys in judicial circuits where there may be, in his judgment, default on the part of the regular Attorney-General in the proper prosecution of such offenders to indictment and conviction in the courts—such appointments by the Governor to be confirmed by the Senate, if in session."

THIRTY-SIXTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

We give the list of contributions to our January Anniversary. As a delightful social gathering it has never been surpassed. Its pecuniary results outran our most sanguine expectations: the amount collected being FOUR THOUSAND AND TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY, BOSTON, JANUARY 26, 1870.

Lydia Maria Child,	200.00
Sarah S. Russell,	200.00
Sarah S. Russell, (July, 1869)	550.00
Wm. I. Bowditch,	100.00
Nathaniel White,	200.00
Mrs. J. Ellerton Lodge,	100.00
Henry I. Bowditch,	20.00
Mrs. Isaac Pitman,	50.00
Charles Dwight,	100.00
J. M. Forbes,	25.00
Prof. James Russell Lowell,	25.00
Lucretia Mott,	10.00
E. M. Davis,	10.00
Mary Grew,	5.00
John C. Haynes,	25.00
L. Hollingsworth,	100.00
Rev. Samuel Johnson,	5.00
A. Folsom and Wife,	25.00
L. Prang & Co.,	40.00
J. C. Lindsey,	10.00
Geo. S. Winslow,	100.00
Geo. C. Richardson,	50.00
Henry L. Peirce,	50.00
J. S. Emery,	5.00
Ann Greene Phillips,	250.00
Mr. and Mrs. John T. Sargent,	100.00
James N. Buffum,	50.00
Frederick Douglass,	20.00
Seth W. Tibbetts,	5.00
J. G. Dodge,	1.00
H. S. Sheppard,	5.00
Mrs. Gwinn,	5.00
The Misses Ireson,	10.00
Mrs. Austin,	3.00
G. E. and E. C. Whipple,	2.00
Mr. and Mrs. Geo. W. Greene,	5.00
Mrs. Theodore Parker,	25.00
John R. Manley,	10.00
H. C. Lewis,	5.00
H. M. Jacobs,	5.00
A. Friend,	5.00
Anna Parsons,	5.00
Susan H. Cowing,	5.00
R. Y. and Lena H. Ober,	10.00
D. M. and Sophia Allen,	10.00
Mrs. C. Cowing,	5.00
Wendell Phillips,	250.00
A. Friend,	5.00
Dr. Zakrzewski,	5.00
Caroline R. Putnam,	50.00
Mrs. A. Sumner,	5.00
Mrs. Cheney,	2.00
A. Friend,	3.00
Robert Adams,	5.00
R. P. and S. W. Halliwell,	5.00
A. Friend,	5.00
C. C. McLaughlin,	2.00
Charles C. Barry,	5.00
John G. Webster,	5.00
John A. Nowell,	5.00
Mrs. E. Maritt,	2.00
Mrs. Patch,	1.00
Mr. McDuffie,	2.00
Mr. S. James,	2.00
Mr. Milton Clark,	1.00
Cash,	50.00
F. M. B.	10.00
Miss E. Wellington,	2.00
C. Wellington,	2.00
Dr. David Thayer,	5.00
M. A. G. Oils,	3.00
James T. Allen,	5.00
E. L. Mitchell,	5.00
Edwin Thompson,	2.00
Edwin Ford,	2.00
Lewis Ford,	1.00
Elizabeth Wilder,	1.00
Sarah A. Henshaw,	1.00
Mrs. Chester Grover,	1.00
Mrs. Anna Woolson,	1.00
A. H. Wellington,	1.00
Mr. A. B. Magoun,	1.00
P. B. Brigham,	1.00
Mr. Geo. Tuthill,	1.00
C. Monroe,	1.00
Cornelius Wellington,	1.00
Frederick A. Green,	10.00
Rebecca Goddard,	6.00
Matilda Goddard,	3.00
Mrs. Sarah J. Rust,	3.00
Sylvanus Smith,	1.00
Mrs. Lucy Barham,	1.00
William Robinson,	1.00
A. Friend,	1.00
Phobias Fliske,	100.00
H. W. Crane,	5.00
Ellen Craft,	5.00
E. D. Rockwood,	10.00
John Caruthers,	10.00
James A. Burr,	10.00
Susan M. Burr,	1.00
Mrs. Dr. Gleason,	5.00
Mrs. T. K. Beecher,	1.00
Mary M. Davis,	1.00
Mrs. Alfred W. Haven,	1.00
Miss Esther Ford,	1.00
Mrs. Marie E. Mackay,	1.00
Mrs. R. W. Emerson,	10.00

Seth Hunt,	5.00
Miss C. S. Perry,	4.00
Dr. E. D. Hudson,	10.00
Miss Lucy Osgood,	10.00
Martha A. Perry,	2.00
William R. Warner,	1.00
Mrs. Dr. W. S. Brown,	3.00
Mrs. N. B. Hill,	5.00
L. McLaughlin,	1.00
R. H. McLaughlin,	1.00
Abby S. Stephenson,	1.00
Mrs. J. J. Smith,	1.00
J. M. W. Yerrinton,	1.00
Louisa M. Alcott,	3.00
B. Arnold,	5.00
Dea. Henshaw,	2.00
C. S. Wheeler,	3.00
Capt. Prince S. Crowell,	20.00
Mrs. C. B. Joselin,	1.00
Sarah Clay,	1.00
Mrs. N. A. Hayward,	2.80
R. H. Ober,	6.00
L. H. Ober,	5.00
D. M. Allen,	5.00
S. L. O. Allen,	.005
Mary Willey,	2.00
Ephraim Willey,	1.00
Mrs. Andrew Robeson,	10.00
Hon. Gerrit Smith,	20.00
Mrs. Anna Hasko,	1.00
Miss S. Thoreau,	5.00
Mrs. M. P. Osborne,	2.00
Mrs. Dr. Owen,	4.00
Samuel Hayball,	1.00
Mrs. L. C. D'Antremont,	1.00
J. M. Tillotson,	1.00
A. Lady,	20.00
Jerome Marble,	\$10.00
George Crompton,	25.00
Albert Curtis,	25.00
Charles Hadwin,	10.00
J. Mason,	5.00
C. A. O.,	2.00
Alex. H. Wilder,	20.00
Jos. Chase,	5.00
T. L. Nelson,	5.00
Edwin Morse,	10.00
A. H. Hammond,	10.00
Merrick Bemis,	10.00
A. G. Coes,	15.00
John Dean,	3.00
E. T. Marble,	5.00
A. P. Ware,	5.00
Lyman Taft,	5.00
J. P. Marble,	10.00
Theo. Brown,	5.00
R. G. Hazard,	\$50.00
A. C. Barstow,	20.00
S. K. Rathbone,	5.00
Thos. Davis,	10.00
Seth Padelford,	10.00
J. A. Barker,	10.00
Stephen A. Jenks,	10.00
A. Friend,	5.00
J. H. Chace,	5.00
Geo. C. Ballou,	10.00
Thiraby Andrews,	5.00
Mrs. C. Arnold,	5.00
Refreshment Table,	77.00
Collections at Door,	56.00

PLEDGES.

Sarah J. Nowell,	10.00
David and Charlotte A. Joy,	25.00
G. O. Adams,	100.00
Geo. L. Clark,	25.00
Edward Earle,	10.00
S. D. Tourtellot,	25.00
Joseph Sargent,	20.00

THE FESTIVAL.

Boston, February, 1870.

To the Editor of the Standard.  
The Anti-Slavery Festival this year was especially interesting to all of us as being probably the last, that we should hold. We felt that the hour drew near when the Fifteenth Amendment would be fully ratified, and firmly entrenched in the Constitution, and that then, the Anti-Slavery battle, so long and faithfully fought, would at last be won. Again, as last year—fourth pleasure, of course—the day of the Festival was bright and "beautiful exceedingly," although many stormy, cloudy days had preceded it; and again we met at nightfall in the pleasant Horticultural Hall, which, with its summer displays of lovely flowers and fruits, and its winter gatherings of many of the best minds and noblest hearts for the advocacy of reforms, may truly be called the temple of the Beautiful and the Good. The beautifully-laden refreshment table and its faithful attendants were, for so long a time after our early arrival, almost the sole occupants of the room, that we began to fear the meeting would be a small one, and to cast pathetic glances toward our empty money drawer. But at last the door opened and the charming face with sunny curls which gladdened our eyes was soon followed by others, old and young, grave and gay, until the room was completely filled. Many of our guests were from out of town and wisely came to sup with us, and they gathered around the little tables in pleasant converse and were waited upon by graceful girls in bright ribbons and pretty muslin aprons, who looked very bewitching as they flitted to and fro. It was deeply interesting to watch the groups among whom were many of the earliest and most faithful workers in the Anti-Slavery cause, and we thanked God that he had granted to these rare and blessed privilege of living to see the results of their labors. One who had never before attended such a gathering said that she was much struck by the number of fine, earnest faces. This was very noticeable. The soul "shines through the face," and there were men and women there whose beautiful devotion to the wronged and outcast, whose unflinching courage and faith and sacrifice of self were plainly written on their brows. Our hearts filled with gratitude and admiration as we looked upon them. The rarest mental gifts, alone, and many of them were richly endowed with these,—could never have won such tribute. It was the moral grandeur and heroism before which we reverently bowed our heads.

Among those who graced the Festival by their presence—and to many of whom its success was mainly due—were Mr. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. Child, Col. Higginson, Mr. and Mrs. Sargent, Mr. and Mrs. Foster, Mr. and Mrs. Powell, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Channing, Mr. Wm. Crafts, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. I. Bowditch, Mrs. Geo. R. Russell, Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Livermore, whose eloquence deeply impresses all who hear her, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Nowell, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Severance, Mrs. R. W. Emerson, Miss Holley, Lucy Stone, Mattie Griffith Brown, Louisa Alcott, Mr. Linton, the delightful English artist, and his daughter, Mr. Langston, the eloquent colored orator from Ohio, and Milmore, the gifted young sculptor, of whom Boston is justly proud. The presence of Mrs. Child gave a peculiar charm to the occasion. We esteemed ourselves most fortunate in having her and Mr. Child with us—it was the first time for some years that they had been able to attend one of these meetings. Mrs. Child is truly "embodied sunshine," as cheering and inspiring as the brightest June day. She is young and will ever be so with the heart's perpetual youth. "You will always be a child," Mr. Watson said to her, and she laughingly answered "Of course; and I feel much younger than you gray-haired people—my hair is yellow, you know." And so it is—a perfect bit of sunshine—and her face has the glow and sparkle of youth, strangely, sweetly blended with the mellowness of age. It is needless to sound her praises. We all know what it is that keeps her so young; how noble and generous she is; how she devotes the proceeds of her delightful books to the freedmen, how she curtails her own personal expenses in every possible way that

she may give freely to the needy. "You are the richest woman I know," a friend said to her. As it is "more blessed to give than to receive" she must be greatly blessed, and not alone for material gifts nor even for the consideration of her fine mental gifts nor even for the large heart, generous and coming straight from the heart, but for the bitter sense of injustice and wrong—

"And weary with warring the crosses  
Too heavy for mortals to bear."

We gladly welcomed, also, Mr. Channing from his sojourn across the sea, and felt ennobled by his brought into contact with that singularly pure and spiritual nature, to which the dear Father seems to be very near.

The presence of Wm. Crafts gave us all great pleasure, and we much regretted the absence of his pleasant wife. We felt that this occasion must be one of peculiar interest to him, as he realized the wonderful changes which twenty years have wrought. For it is twenty years since he and his wife were forced to leave their native land, after their heroic escape from slavery, and seek a asylum in England, whence they return, followed by best wishes and warmest respect and admiration for the cause of their newly emancipated brethren. The meeting was essentially a social one, so there was very little "speaking," but a great deal of pleasant talk. Mr. Sargent presided, and introduced Mr. Weiss. It is always good to hear those eloquent lips, from which music and beauty, plead for the poor and the oppressed and the outcast. He reminded us that the rights and privileges of the races in this country were still to be secured. It was not so much the Fifteenth Amendment we need as amendment in the hearts of the people—the negro. In the Fifteenth Amendment we regard down the bar to equality, but we have yet to exert ourselves to prevent the ballot boxes being made loaded dice to throw doubts of victory against the black race. He urged the importance of still using money, energy and educational influence to establish true equality throughout the land.

Then Mr. W. W. Davis and Miss Gratzell Higginson very kindly sang for us and Mr. Peterline played delightfully, as usual. We feel much indebted to these artists for the cheerful kindness with which they gave their valuable services. Some one asked for "John Brown," which Mr. Peterline played in the most spirited and soul stirring manner, and then the same voices—that of one of the truest and noblest friends of the oppressed—proposed three cheers for the hero and martyr whom "soul is marching on," which were given heartily. Surely from the larger and freer life into which he had entered



tain the ground now won by the loyal Republicans of this State it is necessary that Congress shall enforce the Test Oath for legislative and county offices. Without this the victory of to-day in Texas for the national cause is but temporary; and it will be impossible for the earnest and patriotic citizens of this State to withstand the tide and receding reinforcements from other States of disaffection. That this is a measure, not of party, but of national safety is now so apparent, I believe, that even the Tribune philosopher—our contemporary—gives even to his adhesion. To the earnest friends of the North who have given us words of counsel and of cheer in our recent herculean struggle, the Republicans of Texas are grateful. And for President Grant and his cabinet we have a need of praise and gratitude that we trust may be substantially realized in the not distant future."

THE Peabody obsequies are at last happily at an end. If Mr. Peabody had been, even approximately, as worthy of public admiration and respect as JOHN BROWN, so much extravagant and pompous display would have been wholly unjustifiable. No true man would desire for himself such costly commemoration, while the needs of the living are so varied and pressing. The whole expenditure is the ceremonial rites, and burial of his body, will involve to somebody an outlay equivalent to a large portion of Mr. Peabody's fortune, great as it is reported to have been. But personally, apart from his money, Mr. Peabody was a character not at all profitable to hold for public commendation. He was notoriously the enemy of freedom and nationality in this country, at a time, and under circumstances, which might have turned the scale against us. It was not his fault that the slaveholding conspirators were not successful in founding here a Confederacy with human slavery for its chief corner-stone. Like many others who are indiscriminately glorified, it is said of Mr. Peabody that in respect to Temperance, he was one who should be held up as a warning, rather than an example.

A MEETING of the Colored Citizens of this city was held at Bethel Church on the evening of the 5th inst., to make arrangements for the celebration of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. The meeting was called to order at 8 o'clock, the Rev. W. F. Butler in the chair. John N. Carney was chosen Secretary. There was a large attendance, and great enthusiasm was manifested both by the speakers and the audience. Prominent among those who addressed the meeting were Rev. W. F. Butler, Rev. Dr. Turpin, Joseph Walker, Jacob Stewart, John N. Carney, and E. V. C. Bato. An Executive Committee of nine, with Rev. W. F. Butler as chairman, was appointed to make all needed preparations for the approaching Celebration. The next preparative meeting will be held at Zion Church on the 17th inst. It is desired that there should be a full attendance of all interested upon that occasion.

WE are so crowded for space again this week as to be obliged to omit much interesting matter designed for our present issue, including a more extended notice of the recent very interesting Woman Suffrage Convention held in Boston. We shall hope to present in full, next week, Mrs. Howe's eloquent address delivered during the opening session of the Convention.

PERSONAL.

THE N. Y. Evening Mail says: "A meeting was held, on Saturday evening, in St. Ann's Church, Eighteenth street, for the purpose of founding a Ladies' Physiological and Sanitary Institute. Dr. Anna Dismore was elected President."

Rosa Bonheur said the other day that no fewer than three thousand strangers called on her in the course of the year, and that she received in the same space of time upward of one thousand letters, requesting autographs, sketches, etc.

The mother of Parepa-Rosa died recently in London. The Boston Transcript says:

"The following letter is one of many which have been received by Madame Parepa-Rosa, since the announcement of the death of her mother. The letter will be read with additional interest from the fact that the name of the writer is so well known to the musical public:

No. 46 BEACH STREET, BOSTON, January 15th, 1870.

"My Dear Madame:—Pray believe that I sympathize deeply with your sorrow—so much so, that I shall offer no vain words of consolation. You have lost one whom you loved more than any other, and the loss is a sacred tribute to the memory of the departed, and the loss of grief whose source lies at the very root of our nature must have its course. Still, I would fain awaken the reflection that your mother's latest thoughts of you must have been happy; that in the visions of her child as a distant land she must have beheld an artist in the very zenith of her glory—the undisputed laurel-crown upon her head, the musical public of a vast country at her feet—premiered as a singer, universally respected as a woman; and might proudly have said, in leaving to the world a rich legacy, 'This is my daughter, and my soul.' If I might venture a word of advice, my dear Madame, I would say, return speedily as possible to that serene mental occupation which more than anything will conduce to the forgetfulness of irremediable calamity. Resume your professional duties at the earliest possible moment, for your own sake for the sake of those connected with you. The public—everybody, indeed—will understand and appreciate your motives. Believe me, dear Madame, sincerely yours, HOWARD GLOVER."

"To Madame Parepa-Rosa."

DESTITUTE FREEDMEN IN WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 2nd month, 6th, 1870.

To the Editor of the Standard: In the day of our rejoicing over the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment let us not forget those who were recently slaves, and now are suffering for the common necessities of life in the very heart of the nation.

Rachel M. Townsend has spent some \$2000, for the food of the freedmen in Washington, mostly women and children, who cannot get away from their employment. Few persons are willing to take mothers with little children. The case is represented to me as one of intense suffering, and when I mentioned it in Boston last week to the friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society they recommended that public attention be called to it. I append a statement recently received.

A. H. LOVE.

Last Sunday morning at the Friends' meeting on West Street, Thomas Garrett read a letter from Rachel Moore, describing graphically the misery and destitution amongst the aged, crippled, and infirm freedmen, in Washington.

The Government furnishes rations for them in very small quantities, and when they are sick many of them cannot eat the coarse unsavory food, and nearly starve. Many of them are without covering for their heads or bodies. The Washington Friends were asked to contribute clothing, and we believe an effort is being made to collect as much as possible to forward for this purpose.

Friend Garrett also sends us the following extract from a letter of Robert Lamborn, of Kennet Square, Philadelphia, who has spent near two months in Washington:

"You, no doubt, in your city, have no lack of poverty, distress, old age, and infirmity, but permit me to tell you that even then, I do not believe the pictures would be so dark, if the saddest day ever seen in Washington, I do not. If the reality seen in the streets and back alleys of the Capital of the nation could be multiplied all this, there is monstrous suffering with the old and infirm, and women, going about the streets, which is a great sight to expect the citizens to relieve. By invitation I called a few days ago at the house of Mrs. Griffith, 394 Capital street. She is one of the agents authorized by Congress to distribute to those outsiders, who

had last year 30,000 dollars at her disposal which she reports all expended, except 200 dollars. On my arrival her house was crowded, outside and in, by feeble worn out slaves; it was with difficulty I could reach the door; inside I found Mrs. Griffith with three assistants, busily distributing such as hats, old coats, pants, meat, tea and coffee, etc. When these were let out another lot of five or six were admitted, which continued for four hours, and when I left, some ten or fifteen were still waiting their turn in the cold. Rachel M. Townsend and her husband had called there a few days previous, and witnessed the sad situation of those people and the great destitution that prevailed there, and after their return to Philadelphia they sent several boxes of clothing for the destitute. Now let me propose that some twelve or twenty of my Wilmington friends get up one or two, or, if possible, five boxes of clothing, and send on here; cast off clothing will be thankfully received, of every size, shape or condition, that can be applied to keep the human frame warm, and forward them to Mrs. Griffith, and rest assured they will be wisely disposed of. I visited the Howard University and Government Hospital, both on a large scale. The hospital had near five hundred inmates of old, lame and helpless freedmen. I will now leave the subject after saying there is not one day to be lost. Mrs. Griffith told me that one hundred beds and one thousand blankets could be put to immediate use and add greatly to the comfort of those destitute people.

"President Grant, in his late message, gave the gratifying opinion that the National debt might be cancelled in ten years. Now, if this is possible, which I do not doubt, then let me ask if ever such unprecedented prosperity fell to the lot of any people, since the beginning. Then should the general government manifest its gratitude to the author of their prosperity, and their philanthropy on behalf of suffering humanity, and declare that they will freely remain in debt one year longer, and devote the income of the Nation for one year to smoothing the passage of those homeless freedmen to the grave, and also for the education of the colored youth for the next ten years.

"Any person disposed to assist those suffering freed people, either by money or cast off clothing, may send the same to Thomas Garrett, No. 227 Shipley street, who will see that all is properly forwarded to Josephine S. Griffith, who is authorized by Congress to attend to the distribution of food and clothing for the destitute freedmen."

NOTICE.

A STATED meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Fifth day, the 10th inst., at 3-1-2 o'clock P. M., at 727 Filbert street.

G. M. S. P. JONES, Secretary.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, February 7th, 1870.

REJOICE BUT REFLECT.

It is but natural that we should all rejoice over our last great victory of political freedom, and exult with glowing enthusiasm now that the complete ratification of the XVth Amendment may be chronicled among the grand facts of the age. It is a consummation worthy of the best tribute that the zeal of grateful hearts can carve by the power of speech. It has no parallel as a legislative achievement in this country, and takes rank next to the abolition of slavery as a momentous step towards harmonizing the Declaration of Independence with our national practice.

But the spirit of exultation should not be so supreme as to banish reflection from our minds, or induce a feeling of ease and apathy as if nothing more remained to be accomplished. This great event should not be considered as a signal for us to lapse into a state of indifference concerning the future. It should not pall us with a consciousness of security. The guaranty of entire safety may yet be afar off, in the education of the people up to the standard of this Amendment, which is by no means apparent to-day.

Every negro in the land may have just occasion to be jubilant, and to be thrilled with ecstasy for the better recognition of his manhood, but in the midst of his rejoicing let him not forget precisely how matters stand. Let him remember the powerful minority that has uniformly arrayed itself like a wall of adamant against his enfranchisement, in every season and on every occasion, indicating a deep-seated opposition which years of training to the new order of things will not eradicate.

But it is not sufficient to say that there is a formidable minority opposed to the XVth Amendment. It is an absolute majority. It became a party measure, and with that essential sanction which self-preservation helped largely to dictate, it has travelled through the requisite number of State legislatures towards its final incorporation in the national Constitution. Much is owing to that mysterious party ordination which operates unseen, welding the Republican legislators in every State into unbroken action, in obedience to the potential behest. It is no evidence that a majority of votes could be polled to-day in a dozen States in its favor. It would not risk it to a popular vote in half that number of States. The majority of voters are not in accord with the fact, nor with the principle of which it is the legitimate offshoot.

But the very act of ratification greatly augments the voting support of the Amendment, and this added element in the constituency may be all-important as a protecting force against future peril. Let that force be constantly on the alert. Politicians are aye. So far as parties are concerned, to the Republicans the negroes owe everything, and to the Democrats nothing. They rejoice to-day because they have a right to the ballot, with which as freemen they may execute their will. But they will be fools indeed if they will its use in any other way than for their protection. Every vote they give to the Democratic party, their unfailing, inveterate and unyielding enemy, may be a thrust at their own liberty. Unaware they may thus weave a web that would in time develop into a twisted cord about their limbs. Let them wisely guard their rights. What would the XVth Amendment be worth with the Democratic party in power, and the Supreme Court moulded in that image? An adverse turn in affairs may be the source of deplorable mischief. Look at the low tone of politics, without regard to parties. The seeds of danger and detriment may be seen in many aspects. Party leaders need constant watching. The nation suffers from infirmity of conscience. Vitiating elements are passively tolerated in the community, and a very inferior grade of moral sense is manifest.

Although THE STANDARD may drop superfluous portions of its name, and change its present form, its need still seems imperative. It may take a fresh departure in the battle-field of reform, still warring against the foes of caste, oppression, injustice, wrong and outrage in every shape, but the sphere of action cannot spare this champion of a purer and higher civilization. The Amendment does not make the nation better. It does not remove disabilities that everywhere annoy and oppress the colored race. Years will pass before it will ameliorate in a material degree their untoward condition. Let no man say that the work of THE STANDARD is finished.

THE PENNSYLVANIA EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE.

A few evenings ago the Executive Committee of this organization held a meeting for the purpose of taking measures in behalf of celebrating the ratification of the Amendment. Various speeches were made, and resolutions were adopted requesting the president of the League to issue his proclamation to the colored people of the State, "calling on them to assemble in their respective localities to celebrate this great event." It was resolved, that the fourth Tuesday succeeding the official proclamation of the Secretary of State be set apart as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer to God for His goodness and mercy to us as a people, so long outraged and so unjustly persecuted.

That on said day all business be suspended and all places of business be closed; that the churches be opened in the morning for religious services, and the remainder of the day be devoted to procession and the evening to festivities, that this day may be one fully celebrated in each city, town and hamlet throughout the Commonwealth.

We have had the company and wisdom of the wonderful

NABBY,

who entertained us on Thursday evening with his remarkable lecture on "The Lords of Creation, or the struggles of a Conservative on the Woman Question." It was decidedly interesting to hear him philosophize upon an important subject, in his own way of nove-

treatment, reviewing it in its various phases from the period when Adam lived, (beyond which he seemed to regret that he could not go) all the way down to the present day. It was decidedly amusing to notice the peculiar delight with which many seemed to view his conservative ideas, as if all was said in serious earnestness and belief, and when he demolished his own plausible arguments and brilliant statements with the weapons of pleasant sarcasm, these innocent listeners were greatly perplexed. They were not prepared for his change of base from the position of an avowed conservative, imbued with all the virulence of popular prejudice against woman's cause, to that of a zealous, outspoken and sincere advocate of woman's rights. It was delightful to listen to this portion of his lecture, so eloquent and free, so clearly instinct with the right spirit, and enforced with a degree of earnestness that irresistibly won our applause and admiration. Nasby has his place—which he fills most commendably. In him Woman Suffrage has a valiant and effective champion, capable of splendid service. But who among our popular lecturers worthy of a hearing is not on that side? Echo answers, who?

Our Boston Correspondence.

NO. CCLXXII.

Boston, February 6th, 1870.

This blunders of compositors are getting to be something terrible. If only, when they misplace letters, they would make nonsense, so as to show that there is an error, the intelligent reader might conjecture the right meaning; but when "pros and cons" are made to appear "pigs and cows," when Rubens the painter is transformed into Reuben the patriarch, and when "elipses," carefully written, is printed "colipses," one realizes that freedom of the press has its evils as well as its benefits. The latest malefactions of this sort that I have seen are in a good-looking Universalist newspaper of your city, which speaks of a "church of Truism" lately formed—evidently meaning a church of *Theism*, and—intending to quote "those beautiful lines of Whittier"—prints

"I know not where his islands lift  
Their ponderous forms in air,  
I only know we cannot drift  
Beyond his love and care."

Those readers of the above who did not remember that Whittier wrote "frowned palms," must have found the poet's meaning less clear, and his expression less felicitous, than usual.

LIBERAL LIBERALITY.

The word "Universalist" above reminds me of an anecdote I have lately seen of one of the early preachers of that faith, who, after delivering a discourse in favor of its distinguishing tenet, was asked for explanation by a hearer who found it difficult to receive that doctrine. Do you think that *all* will be saved? Yes. What, even the orthodox? asked the doubter.

CONSERVATISM CROWDED.

I hear that the Executive Committee of conservative Unitarianism, who have the charge of a temporary supply of preachers for destitute parishes, are finding more and more cases of dissatisfaction with those steady-going ministers of the old sort whom they have been accustomed to send, and whom they prefer to send. It is asked of them with increasing frequency—"Can't you send us a more radical man?" And the consequence is that the men of this latter sort, to whom the Committee had in past years been showing the cold shoulder, are again put in requisition, and sent out with the respectable endorsement of the head-quarters of Unitarianism. In Mr. Parker's time, no sentence of formal exclusion could be passed against him, because, as he told them, there was no fence inclosing their grounds. Now that his opponents have succeeded in getting a fence built, it must seem rather hard to them to be obliged themselves to ignore it, through the pressure of advancing public opinion.

REFORM DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

It happens somewhat curiously that, just as a portion of the comfortable and well-to-do part of the community are awaking to the consciousness that laboring people of both sexes need time and a place for recreation, and are trying to accomplish Rev. Mr. Murray's idea of an extensive public park near the city, and cheap transportation to it on Sundays, so that our base-metal and cellar population may have a chance, once a week, at fresh air and a view of nature—opposition to this movement is arising among some of those for whose particular benefit it was intended. In various meetings of the Labor Reform movement, opposition is made to a new public park for Boston, on the ground that poor people have no time to go to it. This is unfortunately true, at present; and yet it seems as if something would be gained if, while the labor-reformers are trying to get the place, other persons were simultaneously trying to get the place, and perfect the facilities for using it. Why should the former try to obstruct the latter?

"THE SYMPATHY OF RELIGIONS."

This was the title of the third lecture in the Sunday afternoon course at Horticultural Hall, which was given by Col. T. W. Higginson.

Our religious experience, said Mr. Higginson, begins with the discovery that there is an inward light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. This light, though not infallible, is invaluable, since it gives us something to steer by, and it is this, far more than an anchor, that we need. The best religions are those that are in motion. All over the world, the divine influence moves men, and moves them to action. Men are ceasing to disbelieve, and believing more and more.

Every year gives us more knowledge of the religions of the world; and shows us better the sympathy between them. They all show the same aim, the same symbols, the same forms, the same aspirations, the same limitations, the same weaknesses. There is in fact but one religion under many forms, and these, rightly considered, unite to make a symphony of religions. It is agreed by all that there is one God, and that this God is our Father. The names applied to him are different, the being intended by them is the same.

It was said by von Humboldt that every religion contains these three things: the declaration that there is one God—that there is a future existence—and that men should do as they would be done by. To these essentials of the absolute religion, Mr. Higginson thought that each particular faith added the name and person of its first teacher; thus the Persians held this doctrine plus Zoroaster, the Hebrews the same plus Moses, the Mussulmans the same plus Mohammed, the Christians the same plus Christ.

These essential beliefs grow up naturally, being indigenous to every soul. Each form of religion resembles the others, and the same traditions naturally grow up around the founder of each. The same things were imputed to Osiris and to Buddha, as to Jesus. But if a man surpasses everybody, must he therefore be separated from everybody? Was the best man before Jesus something more than man.

Augustine said that after the time of Christ, that true religion which had always existed received the name of "Christian."

Mr. Higginson spoke of the unfairness of the common practice of classifying religions by a comparison of the best points of one with the imperfections and errors of all the rest. Our best course was to look for the points of similarity in all, and to select from the sacred writings of all nations those things which were worthy to accompany the best parts of our own Bible. The Holy Scripture of the world is not yet completed. We may learn much by looking at history in a candid spirit. We hear it told how much Christianity has done for Europe; it may be well to inquire how much Europe has done for Christianity. Mohammedan Spain was once the best part of Europe. And the creditable part of Christianity covers only four centuries out of nineteen.

The true missionaries are the men who have kept themselves free from the limitations of the system in which they have lived. Mr. Higginson thought there were more and more instances of this sort, and that all religions were beginning to outgrow their mythologies. He hoped for such an extension of this influence as to bring us to the true church of God and Man, the religion of the ages, Natural Religion.

In the next lecture of this course, Rev. Samuel Long-fellow is to speak on "Theism."

THE HOUSE OVER THE WAY.

7th.—The demonstration in the opposition course this week was double-barrelled, consisting of a sermon last evening in the Shawmut Church, and a lecture this afternoon in the Old South Chapel, both by Prof. George P. Fisher of New Haven.

The sermon, on "The nature and design of Revelation," was, in its merits, its deficiencies and its faults, very like the general run of orthodox sermons in city churches. Its doctrine was that "Revelation" was an accurate and infallible revealing of God, through a series of supernatural interpositions, for the purpose of bringing men back to him. The preacher proceeded to assume that the Bible, the whole of it, was such a revelation, and that every one of its declarations was an authority binding upon all men.

Throughout his sermon, the points made by Prof. Fisher were made with a confidence resembling in kind as well as in manner the reply of a Mussulman to a European who had been trying to explain to him Christianity. "You Frank," said the Turk, "are a great people. You know how to make ships, and watches, and penknives, and to do many wonderful things. But Allah has given to us one thing which he has withheld from you, the knowledge of the true religion."

LIBERAL ORTHODOXY.

In refreshing contrast to the dogmatic assumptions of Prof. Fisher's sermon, was the following passage from a sermon preached by Rev. W. H. Murray the same evening in the Music Hall. I quote from the *Advertiser's* report.—Mr. Murray said he would not have any dogma or formula preached in the church, for they were things of the past. The past was full of damp and mouldy ruins from which the air came up chilly and cold, deadening the senses, and blunting the better feelings of our nature. He would have a free religion preached, not the science of God, but the science of living acceptably to God. He would have men draw their inspirations from the future, which was full of hope, and inscribing the word "Jove" on their banner,—"Jove to God and towards their fellow-men,"—march boldly forward, rejoicing in the progress of the age; confined by no strait-jacket of creed, but developing and expanding as new truths were revealed or brought to light. He would not have the church a treadmill, where the same course was gone over and over again, but a gymnasium, for the full development of the soul.

A CONSERVATIVE'S PICTURE OF RATIONALISM.

The Old South Chapel this afternoon was crowded with the hearers of the lecture on Rationalism, among whom were a large number of country ministers, evidently desirous to learn the latest and best method of encountering the great adversary, and supposing that the Professor could show it them. They heard many good things, and some poor ones.

His first statement was among the good ones, namely, a classification of speculators on religion as 1st, Roman Catholics, recognizing their Church as authority; 2d, Evangelical Protestants, recognizing the Bible as authority; 3d, Rationalists, denying the authority of books or institutions over the human soul, and finding nothing miraculous or supernatural in the origin of Christianity. To the first of these classes Prof. Fisher objected that they put the Church between the human soul and Christ. (Here I could not help thinking of the corresponding faith of the speaker and his party, namely, an interposing of Christ between the individual soul and God; as if a father could not meet a prodigal son without introduction by an elder brother.)

For the second class, his own, he claimed that Evangelical Protestantism put no tyrannical yoke upon reason. Reason had its allowed place in that school, namely, 1. To show the authenticity of the books forming the Bible; 2. To show, by competent evidence, the supernatural origin of the Gospel; 3. To examine the authority of the canonical books, by internal and external evidence. 4. To reject doctrines and claims contrary to reason. 5. To maintain individual freedom in the interpretation of the Bible.

It appears that the Evangelical Protestant enjoys freedom to this extent. But the Professor said nothing about the fact, that unless the free reasoner comes to the conclusions authorized by the party as essential, the party, with one consent, refuse him the Christian name.

Coming then to Rationalism, Prof. Fisher represented it as existing in three forms, Atheism, Pantheism, Deism. Here, like his predecessors, he gave a broadside at Comte, Spencer, Huxley and Mill, without any antagonists, none of the speakers of this course seem able to get on. It was noticeable, however, that he did not speak, either by name, or by any fair description, of the system of Christian Theism taught by Theodore Parker. All the speakers of this course, thus far, have jumbled the positions taken by him with the entirely different grounds held by the men just named. The large number of men and women who receive the precious truths taught by Mr. Parker would agree in holding "materialism" very rational. And yet materialism was one main thing at which this lecture "on Rationalism" was pointed, and the other things taken up for censure were lumped with materialism as its proper kindred. Thus, for instance, an ignoring of sin was imputed to all rationalists; a statement by no means true of the class properly called such, according to the definition above given in Prof. Fisher's opening statement. Again, he imputed to them the belief that man, without aid from above, can lead a right life, the fact being, that the people here in question assume as a matter of course that God, the Father, is always helping man, the child. In short, such rationalism as Mr. Parker taught remains entirely unanswered in this lecture and its predecessors.

Among the good counsels which the young ministers received from their seniors, were the following:

In dealing with rationalism, do not attempt to check freedom of investigation. Examine second causes as far as possible. Encourage the study of the physical sciences.

Let progress be allowed to theology as well as to science.

Rationalism must be met in the field of argument.

Beware of connecting Christian truth with untenable theories respecting the Bible, as, for instance, with the completeness of a genealogical table.

If the worthy Professor had only acted upon these counsels in the preparation of his own lecture! But we will be thankful for small measures of justice, and rejoice that he is man enough to give such good advice to others.

NOTES.

(For the Standard.)

THE ALL IN ALL.

BY AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL.

Max feleth blindly after God,  
Though each for eye his presence keeps;  
His essence halloweth all his soul,  
His being fills his awful depths:  
Her mountain dust he glorifies,  
And yet we grope with veiled eyes.

I hold that Nature cannot err,  
That she evolutes naught amiss;  
Since God, the one, embraceth her,  
And all her atom life is His;  
However great, however small,  
His Unity enfoldeth all.

I looked upon the summer world,  
I heard the gladness of her rills,  
I saw her sunset banners furled  
Upon the shoulders of the hills;  
And looking, in my conscious heart  
I said,—"God dwelleth not apart."

"If in the ancient days her feet  
Pressed fragrance from a garden walk,  
And our frail mortals heard his sweet  
And blessed mission of talk,  
If she e'er saw His face divine,  
I hold the privilege as mine."

"And yet my eyes are shadowed quite;  
So darkened, that I cannot see,  
To read the wondrous law aright  
That dwells from heart to heart;  
If I can make an Eden place,  
Perchance He will reveal His face."

"A place of blossoms, perfect fair,  
Of strange and wonderful loveliness;  
Where fringe trees with an airy grace  
Shook in their cloudy vapor dress;  
And the magnolia's waxes bloom,  
Through glossy thickets breathed perfume."

And then from morn till eve I sought  
For shrub and blossom rich and rare;  
From morn till eve I patient wrought  
To make my garden fairer fare:  
The common flower I did uproot,  
And crushed it with a careless foot.

And by the fountain's ribbon line,  
The rich rose spread her leaves apart,  
And dropt her blossom's amber wine,  
And I, with careless foot, apart

Into the lily's open heart;  
And the azalea's plink and snow,  
Gave the green light a sunset glow.  
But all in vain the thicket's shade,  
The font, and groves of blooming flame;  
For his presence I essayed  
With yearnings deep,—He never came;  
In vain I walked that perfect spot,  
For if He came, I knew it not.

Then in a frantic ecstasy  
That would not heed his bidding, I cried,  
"I cannot win the Heavens to me,  
Though all perfection here abide;  
And since I cannot reach so high,  
I will my own heart satisfy."

"The little field flower shall find grace  
Within my sight;—I will not pass  
The meadow blossom, but give place  
To common blooms of common grass;  
I cannot draw the Lord above,  
I'll make a place for human love."

And in the gladness of the thought,  
I sought the azure violet,  
And intercourses and daisies brought,  
And in my garden border set;  
The crocus-dot and the gentian too,  
And forest haw-bells sobby blue.

And lo, a sudden glory fell  
Upon my little Eden spot,  
And one small voice I knew full well,  
Thrilled ear, and grove, and shady grove!  
O heart, forevermore rejoice!  
I heard and knew the Father's voice,

And from my vision fled away  
The darkening shadows, and I saw  
The rose-tree and the daisy spray  
Evolving by divinest law;  
Divinest life and essence ran  
From atom dust, to conscious Man.

Each trembling leaf, and pendant bloom,  
Were portions of one vestment bright;  
One breath swayed all the emerald gloom,  
One smile of love filled Earth with light;  
The dew-drops on the grasses sweet,  
Were pearls that dropt from sacred feet.

One perfect life everywhere,  
In starry sphere and blossom seed;  
A changeful blessing stirred the air  
With sweetest song, and I could read  
Eternal Scripture on the stoop,  
And I no longer walked alone.

LITERARY.

The publishers of Putnam's Magazine make the important announcement that Mr. Parke Godwin is to assume the editorship in the April number. Mr. Putnam, whose other cares compel this change, is fortunate in being succeeded by one so thoroughly competent to carry on the good work inaugurated with the revival of this popular magazine. Mr. Godwin is a ripe scholar, and by experience, capacity and culture is eminently fitted to fill the chair to which he is called. Henceforth we shall expect to see Putnam's take undisputed rank with the first of American Monthlies. Mr. Godwin in his introductory note says:

"Putnam's Magazine has already attained a position so secure, that it remains for the new management to promise merely to carry forward the work so auspiciously begun. The aim of its proprietors from the beginning has been to make it a periodical worthy of our American literature, and particularly worthy of the great metropolitan city in which it is published. Our intention is, to give a 'force, concentration, and individuality,' as the publishers declare, to that generous and noble purpose. American literature has reached a maturity in which it tries to speak for itself; and New York, the great central city in all other respects, must be made the central city in this respect. We need no longer to go abroad for our inspiration or our writers—the days of provincial vassalage are past; and as in politics we are independent, as in our social bearing we have struck out a new path, so in letters we must give more and more evidence of a fresh, original, spontaneous, characteristic life. The late events of our national history, which evoked so stupendous an energy in the national mind and heart, must be translated into speech, and come forth as genial and peaceful arts. The splendid outbursts of intellect that followed the impulses of the Persian war in Greece, or the crusading zeal of the Church in France, or the struggle of the city republics in Italy, ought to be paralleled here, where a grander theatre has given scope for a grander development of the human forces. New York City, in which the wealth, the trade, the enterprise of the entire continent come to a head, should also furnish an organ for the best intellectual aspiration and achievement. It should bring together and reflect what is ever its most vital and peculiar in the whole country. We admit that, what Paris is to France, what London is to Great Britain, New York can never be to the United States, nor is it desirable that it should be owing to more diffusive and democratic methods; but we see no reason why New York, supported by the vast resources of the interior, should not rival any foreign city, not only in the munificence of its provisions for scholarship, but in its literary and artistic activity. We shall not forget that the proper function of a magazine is to amuse as well as to instruct, or, rather, to instruct by means of amusement; and we hope to gather, therefore, out of the intellectual life and culture of the Republic, criticisms, sketches, tales, poems, etc., that shall be an adequate expression of our new conditions and our abounding vitality. This, we are told, is the aim of the best of magazine editors; or, best mind, it is said, turns aside toward practical pursuits. Pacific Railroads are one's eyes, and the ring of hammers and anvils our lyrics; while the finer arts—the arts in which all that is grand and beautiful and subtle in a nation's genius is embodied—are left to certain 'dedicated nobodies,' as one of our cynical friends phrases it, who are without positive personality, and confess to no higher inspiration than that of broad-winning for the moment. If such were our notions we should despair, not only of our literature, but of the Republic itself; for literature is but the outflowing of the national heart, and since we have given of late such ample evidence that our heart is not dead, we need entertain no fears of the answering capacities of the head. The flowers and fruits of genius will come in their own way and time, if we who set ourselves to watch for them are not too dull to recognize their coming, or too inhospitable to tender them a generous welcome when they arrive."

THE WOMAN'S ADVOCATE.

The following excellent table of contents: "The Market Woman," by Antoniette Brown Blackwell; "Vanitas Vanitatis," by Robert W. Hume; "How to Entertain our Friends," by Frances Duns Gage; "The King's Daughters," by M. E. Wright; "Inquiry," by Lavinia Walmsley; "Mother's Rights," by E. Burke Collins; "Perplexed," by George Johnson; "How I Became a Convert," by G. L. James; "Thrown Upon the World," "Lines," "The Question of Woman Suffrage," by Mary F. Davis; Editorial and Literary.

RECEIVED.

COSMOLOGY. By George M'Ilvaine Ramsay, M. D. 264 pp. Boston: William White & Co.

THE LIFE OF MARY ROSSSELL MITFORD. Edited by the Rev. A. G. H. Lestrang. Two Vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE ANDER AND THE AMAZON. By James Orton. 356 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

PLAUTUS, CAPITI, TRINTUMUS, REDUENS. With English notes, critical and explanatory. By C. S. Harrington, M. A. 278 pp. New York: Harper &amp



